5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

868 to be so accurate that they could hit a bough. The girls learned from their mothers how to cook, till the fields, weave cotton, and make hammocks.

881 **Puberty and marriage.**—At the age of puberty both sexes fasted for 3 or 4 weeks and had their skins scarified with agouti teeth. This was the time when the girls assumed the aprons and cotton anklets of women. Thereafter they were not allowed to run free but had to remain close to their mothers.

The youths were taught to value courage and endurance and were periodically rubbed with the fat of slaughtered *Arawak* to make them brave. When they had reached the age of becoming warriors they were tested in these qualities. The youth having been seated on a stool in the center of the carbet, his father crushed a bird over his head, scarified his body, and rubbed the cuts with pepper sauce. Then the boy ate the heart of the bird, to give himself courage, and his father beat him. He had to endure this entire ceremony without flinching. When it was over he lay in a hammock and fasted for 3 days. Then he demonstrated his skill in wielding a club and was accepted into the company of the warriors, being given a new name. His father gave a feast in celebration.

[756] Specialization in shamanism began in childhood, when the candidate abstained from several kinds of flesh and underwent rigorous fasts. At puberty he was apprenticed to one of the older shamans, after going through a scarification ceremony comparable to that given to warriors.

582 The *Carib* youth were supposed to be chaste. Except for prostitutes,
[834] contact between young men and young women was tabooed. So was marriage with mothers, sisters, and step-sisters. Cross-cousin marriage was preferred, the sororate also being practiced, but a man was allowed other wives as well. Fathers presented their daughters to the successful
584 warriors at the feast following each raid, and the warriors could also marry the women they had taken captive during the raid. The men with the most wives were considered the most prominent.

Girls often became engaged during childhood and sometimes were brought up by their fiancé's family. The groom usually had to obtain
[585] the consent of the prospective bride's parents. There was no ceremony except for an occasional feast, the only time the wife ever ate with her
591 husband. Residence was matrilocal, except in the case of a chief. Each wife lived in a separate hut in her own village, often on a different island.

562 The wives were treated as servants; they dressed and fed their husbands,
[586] cleaned and thatched the houses, tilled the fields, and carried all burdens. Their husbands could abandon them without ceremony, in which case the younger children remained with the mother and the older children were
[551] divided according to sex. Teknonymy was practiced, and a man had to avoid speaking to his wife's relatives.

888 **Death and burial.**—The *Carib* sometimes killed the old and the infirm.
890 They feared the dead and never mentioned their names. When a man

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
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841 that the "fresh" odor of their blood would cause the "dog spirits" to follow and attack them and any other person who might take the same track. Actual contact with such blood would bring about local swelling, while any man so foolish as to have connection with a menstruating woman would inevitably suffer from severe backache and general debility for some time after. In Creole patois, a woman's menstrual period is known as her moon, and the Indians, formerly at any rate, held the moon to be responsible for this "sickness."

836 Chastity is not considered of importance in the unmarried, whether
848 man or woman, as is evinced by the prevalence and good treatment of "outside children" in married households. Without demur, a husband will often support, together with his own legitimate offspring, three or four of his wife's children from various prenuptial lovers; his own illegitimate progeny, if any, remain with their mother.

[837] Conjugal infidelity, while regarded in a more serious light, seldom, if ever, leads to a permanent separation or estrangement.

836 Love, as we understand it, is not recognized, although instances of it no doubt exist. Carib girls usually are taken, soon after if not before they reach puberty, by surprise attack, although not by force. By that I mean (and I understand the word *wärikad* to mean) that a young man will watch for an opportunity and ambush a girl when she goes to the river or into the woods alone. If discovered, he will chase, catch, and hold her by force, although he will not resort to rape if she still resists him. The curious thing about this is that in no case will the girl shout or call for help or otherwise betray her presence to anyone passing near, when once she is caught; while, on the other hand, even should she submit, she probably will go straight home and tell her mother, knowing full well that in all likelihood she will receive a beating in consequence. This attitude may be explained, perhaps, by the Carib girl's profound sense of shame (see word *couquia*), combined with deep-rooted inherent passivity.

581 The aims of marriage are practical, the main reason being the desire to found a family as an independent economic unit. No established custom with regard to marriageable parties is recognized today, but marriages between crossed cousins (a girl with her paternal aunt's son, a boy with his maternal uncle's daughter) are still common. Although no prenuptial tasks are demanded of the Carib youth today, certain restrictions are sometimes placed on him during his period of courtship, which, for example, may be limited to a monthly or bimonthly visit.

585 Weddings (as also baptisms) are celebrated according to the rites
591 of the Catholic Church, and are followed by a dance and drinking bout in the home of the bride's parents, where the couple henceforth take up their residence until such time as they are able to build and establish a home of their own.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

to his wife. He would be expected to beat a lazy or unfaithful wife; though when he comes home helplessly drunk, the roles are sometimes reversed. He may also chastize or even expel from the household older children who repeatedly misbehave themselves. Up to the age of about five, children are treated with extreme indulgence interspersed with sporadic displays of affection, temper, or indifference; and rarely learn to control their bodily functions until three or four. Later training is almost solely confined to ridicule or chastisement; and Carib parents rarely if ever question their adolescent children, or seek to direct or control their doings. Observation, not interrogation, is the rule; and even in adults, silence is the only answer to an unwelcome question. A young girl found to be pregnant might receive a beating from her mother, especially should she not have revealed her lover's identity; but pre-marital sex experience is, on the whole, taken for granted by the present generation of Caribs. Adultery on the part of a husband is not uncommon, and is regarded with indulgence provided that the wife and children do not suffer neglect thereby. Adultery committed by the wife is rarer, and much more severely judged, though it is unlikely to lead to a permanent separation. The guilty wife may be beaten, and some sort of reparation demanded from her accomplice, who acquires a sort of right as the husband's combosse (see term 20), however, to future privileges. The above remarks apply to any socially recognized, fairly permanent unions, legal or otherwise. The recent suicide of a man who had discovered his (extra-legal) wife's infidelity is said by his friends to have been due to shame at the girl's refusal to return and submit to being beaten.

That wives might be acquired in different ways, we learn from all sources. A woman's daughters and her brothers' sons had a sort of prior claim on one another, and often were promised by their parents almost as soon as born. Such engagements were not enforced, however, if they later proved distasteful to the young couple concerned or to their parents. Secondly, men might take wives of their own choice (except among those they called mother, sister or daughter), provided that the girl and her parents consented. Thirdly, a noted chief or war-chief might have to take to wife a girl presented to him, for fear of offending her parents. Finally, girls captured in war or otherwise seduced or taken without their parents' consent were called by a distinctive term (19). The former were often brought home as presents for the old men. Although the status of this fourth class was apparently somewhat inferior to that of the other wives, that of their children in no way differed from the rest. Obviously, such unions were patrilocal. Du Tertre[3] and Breton both cite cases of unions

3 J.-B. Du Tertre, *Histoire général des Antilles* (Paris, 1667-1671).

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
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Perhaps it was such restrictions that led to the now all too frequent practice of lying in wait for and seducing a girl who has been sent out for wood or water. The Caribs call this "to wàrikád" (cf. Breton, kawàlikátiti *il est paillard, il monte bien*). It is remarkable that, although she may run away or resist, the average Carib girl will neither call out for help nor betray her and her would-be seducer's presence. On the other hand, once seduced, she will most likely tell her mother of it, although she knows well enough that she alone will be punished for failing to escape.

But apart from all promiscuous relations, there are many extra-legal unions whose character and stability are such that they may be termed orthodox. In these cases, the consent of the girl's parents is requisite, and it is in their home that the young man then comes to live and labor. Hence many parents' reluctance to have their sons marry, and their readiness to accept extra-legal mates for their daughters. Should the young couple prove incompatible, the husband may return to his own home, or seek another mate elsewhere; while any children of the union remain with their mother and receive occasional gifts from their father. More often, however, the union strengthens; and sooner or later a separate establishment in the vicinity of the girl's home is set up, with or without legalization of the marriage. Of romance in our sense there is little, and that little laughed at. Men look for a wife who will prove neither lazy nor weak, women for a mate who will be a good provider. Today, these qualifications are often first sought in those of mixed or full negro blood; but while a Carib man may introduce a Creole wife, a girl who marries outside the Reserve has to leave it.

Legal (or rather, religious) marriages usually take place between mature couples only and when the bride has already given proof of fertility. Actually, it is not uncommon for her to have several children who do not necessarily belong to her husband nor to any other one man. Of course children soon come to be an asset under primitive conditions, and few men are above taking advantage of a wife's pre-marital adolescent daughter; but on the whole Carib men are remarkably tolerant of a wife's pre-marital lapses, and treat her "outside children" as well as their own.

It is not possible to give any general rule as to the frequency or duration of matrilocal (unilocal) residence, as this depends on any number of circumstances. Usually, the younger and less experienced the couple, the longer will they remain without a home of their own; but lack of space or disharmony between young and old may be a deciding factor as against economic interest. The following household lists, taken at random, will serve as examples: